UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

ANARCHISM - - - - - - - *Harry Kelly*

The Space Between - - - *May Stranathan*

Critical Optimism - - - *George R. Dodson*

British Terrorism in India
- - - - - - - - - *Bertrand Russell*

Race Conflicts in Today's World
- - - - - - - - - - - *Hans Kohn*

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Race Conflicts in Today's World

The recent legislation by the German government directed against all members of the non-Aryan race has drawn the attention of the public to the importance of the race question as one of the determining factors in world politics. It is an old factor although the name is a new one. As Alexander the Great set out on his campaign to conquer the world, his teacher, Aristotle, advised him to treat the Greeks as a leader and a friend, but the barbarians, whom he set out to conquer, as a tyrant and king. Alexander the Great did not follow his advice. He treated Greeks and barbarians alike. He married, and had his generals marry, Oriental princesses, and he did all in his power to bring about an amalgamation of the conquerors and the conquered. The result of his policy was a great cultural movement which we know as Hellenism, which dominated the last five centuries of the ancient world, and which prepared the soil for the spreading of Christianity as a supra-national and supra-racial spiritual force. Aristotle had, in the first chapter in his book on politics, developed the teaching that slavery was an institution imposed and sanctified by nature, as there were human races born to be slaves and others who were born masters. Therefore, slavery was not only a moral institution, but it was even in the interests of the slave races themselves as, by their own nature, their well-being demanded the master's hand over them.

This theory by Aristotle was, of course, not confined to Aristotle or to the ancient Greeks. It was brought forth as a justification of the pre-eminence of one race over another wherever one race dominated another. Nothing appeals so much to the most primitive instincts of man as an appeal to his race, for the race is the strongest expression of the group instinct, and is bound together with the mystery which surrounds birth, and which gave rise always to theological and mythological speculation. Even today, theological and mythological speculations are clinging to all discussions about race. Ancient philosophers overcame this primitive race mythology by the

(*Continued on page* 220)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIII MONDAY, JULY 23, 1934 Number 11

THE HAPPY MAN

If you will be governed by reason, and manage what lies before you with industry, vigor, and temper; if you will not run out after new distraction, but keep your divinity pure, even as if you must at once render it up again, your mind staunch and well disciplined, as if this trial of behaviour were your last; and if you will but cleave to this, and be true to the best of yourself, fearing and desiring nothing, but living up to your nature, standing boldly by the truth of your word, and satisfied therewith, then you will be a happy man.

—Marcus Aurelius.

It is a healthy thing that at just this time, when the mind of the world is turning back day by day to the onrushing of the World War twenty years ago, we should be so sharply reminded of the bankruptcy into which this conflict cast mankind. For all this defaulting on international debt payments of course means just one thing, and that is that the nations, victors and vanquished alike, have all gone "broke" as a consequence of the armed debauch of 1914-1918. All the inane talk about the impossibility of transferring funds, the balance of trade, and what not, cannot conceal what is the plain and simple fact—that the western world is as completely bankrupt, i. e., financially ruined, as any one of the private business firms which resorted to bankruptcy proceedings last week. These international debts are never going to be paid, and if there were any international receiver at Geneva, he would be a busy man. All of which we say is healthy, for it teaches us at just this time, when humanity is looking forward to the next war as well as back to the last one, that wars cannot be paid for any longer! Any nations that go into another war are going to suffer even worse despair and ruin than has been the tragic lot of mankind these twenty years. It is this which gives us hope to believe that, in spite of every apparent sign to the contrary, the so-called next war may not come. Consider that war for a moment! *Who is going to pay for it?* What lender, public or private, is going to pass over to any belligerent government money which he knows will never be repaid, either principal or interest? It is true that a nation may for a while keep going on its own domestic cash and credit—feed on its own fat, so to speak. But not for long in this age! It is loans that finance wars—that lovely device for making the sons and grandsons pay the bill for the fathers' crimes! But in the face of world-wide default, repudiation on both sides of the last battle front, those loans are not going to appear any more. It is our conviction that this current inability, or non-willingness, to pay the war debts is the best thing that ever happened. It may be our one way to peace.

We are too far away from the scene of events, and writing too far in advance of the publication date, to say anything worth saying about what is going on in Germany. We dare not even think of what has happened, and may be happening still, in the Reich when this editorial is printed! Is this upheaval, so close in its coincidence of time with the Sarajevo assassinations just twenty years ago, the spark which will set off the explosion of another war? No one can tell! But meanwhile we can and must at this time mourn in sympathy and sorrow for the German people, who seem, through some malign destiny, to be fated to move from one supreme calamity to another. To read the catalogue of tragedies which Germany has endured through the period from 1914 to 1934 is like passing through the circles of Inferno with the immortal Dante. Only in this case the victims are tortured not for any sins of which they are guilty—save as they share with all peoples everywhere the manias of nationalism and militarism—but rather for those misfortunes which have overwhelmed them first among unhappy Europeans. The remedy of Hitler and the Nazis is so desperate a remedy that even the horrors of civil war would seem a cheap escape from such a plight. But what assurance is there in any outcome—the reestablishment of Hitler, or his overthrow—that this stricken nation will not still move from agony to agony? We confess, as we look back, that the feeling is strong upon us that it would have been well for Germany, and for the world, if real revolution had come in 1918-19, as forecast by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg. Such complete disruption of the Empire would have led, as in Russia, to dreadful chaos and misery. But when this was done, it would have been *done,* and Germany, like Russia, would be struggling onward to a new and better day. As it is, what awaits Germany in the years ahead? How can these millions of innocent and helpless people be rescued from the doom which may in the end engulf not merely themselves but all of Europe?

What is ahead of the Socialist Party was clearly forecast in the New York convention of the Party, some weeks ago, which was split with furious acrimony and dissension. Only the personality of Norman Thomas, and the supreme regard in which his ability and devotion are held by Socialists of all points of view, saved the convention from swift and utter disruption. By a 2 to 1 majority the Detroit Declaration of Principles was repudiated, and organization perfected to work for its defeat in the forthcoming referendum. That opposition to the Detroit action is perhaps stronger and more impressive in New York than elsewhere is true, but we are persuaded that this opposition is representative of the best sentiment of the Party throughout the nation, and must prevail if there is to be any Socialism surviving as a radical democratic movement between Communism on the one hand and Republican-Democracy on the other. It is conceivable that no place any longer exists for such a party, and the Detroit convention may be good evidence of this fact. If so, it is well for us to know it, that we may be prepared for that out-and-out conflict between Communism and Fascism which has engulfed other great nations of the world. For the moment, however, we are not ready to concede any such crisis as this. We shall oppose dictatorship and cling to democracy, advocate not direct methods of violent social change but indirect methods of parliamentary procedure, until the end; and, until that end, stoutly believe that Socialism, after a half-century of heroic life in this country, can be held faithful to the American tradition and ideal. To non-Socialists this discussion may seem to be very academic—who cares how this little body of contentious radicals determine their picayune affairs? But we contend that here is a sign of the times of the first order of importance. Are the Socialists to collapse and thus be swallowed up by the Communists, as the Detroit action would seem to suggest? Then may America well prepare for dire times, with a struggle to the death impending for the preservation of our democracy?

If there is anything more disgusting than something else in this movie business, it is the protestations of the producers that they are going to reform themselves again. Every time there has been any complaint against the sheer sensuality and violence of the films—a protest from some church body, a move in Washington for censorship, a good-sized parents' revolt—the Hollywood magnates have immediately set up their clamor that things had been getting out of hand, that they would undertake immediate reform, that everything objectionable would be corrected, etc., etc. More than once these magnates have drawn up and published elaborate ethical codes for the control of moving picture production. A group of Sunday school superintendents could not be more puritanical than these movie authorities when they have thus suddenly been brought under the fire of an outraged public. Now with the most formidable attack ever directed against them well under way, thanks to the determination of our Roman Catholic brethren, the magnates are again in a pious mood. The insufferable Will Hays, the Presbyterian elder, behind whose smug respectability the movies have been hiding their filth for lo, these many years, this intolerable hireling is again to the fore, with loud mouthings about reform, and a hypocritical promise to put the pictures on a truly "family" basis. Our one fear at this moment is that these professions will be taken seriously, and another promising movement for reform called off. The Catholics, to be sure, are driving straight ahead; but the timid action of the Federal Council of Churches is ominous. Can't it be understood, once for all, that in this case, as in all cases, no stream can rise higher than its source? The movies are indecent because the producers are prevailingly low, ignorant, indecent men who know no other type of life than that which they present on the screen. The only way to handle such men is to attack their pocket-nerve —the *boycott!*

Success and failure are to be recorded together this year in the great movement for church unity. The success is the agreement of the Evangelical Synod and the Reformed Church in the United States to merge their interests in one undivided Christian body. This union has been under contemplation for some years past, and was at last consummated last month when the two churches came into formal unity at Cleveland, Ohio. Both of these groups, with their Calvinistic heritage, have inevitable affinities which make their juncture as logical as it is beneficent. One wonders that they could ever have existed apart. As they carry on jointly a work essentially evangelical in spirit, it would seem as though the future were bright. The failure, of course, is the refusal of the United Presbyterian Church in North America, at its June meeting in Oxford, Ohio, to consent to union with the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. We do not know the reasons for the refusal, and do not believe that we could understand them if we did. They must assuredly be fantastic. The very names of these two bodies prove that they belong together. But Presbyterians have ever had a touch of cantankerousness with their stalwart intellectual independence and spiritual rigor, and thus must remain loyal to peculiar tenets of theological doctrine in defiance of the insistent claims of Christian fellowship. It is not to be imagined, however, that this kind of "rugged individualism" is going to win any public sympathy in this day and generation. The good Presbyterian elders may hug to their bosoms the bugbear of their creedal consistency, but people generally will scoff and sneer—and rightly, for the

church of Christ has again been wounded in the house of its friends. Dr. Cleland B. McAfee pronounces this failure in the cause of church unity "inexpressibly sad." It is! Alas, to be frank, it is incredibly ridiculous. But nothing can defeat the movement of Christian brotherhood, especially as community experience and idealism come more and more to take the place of theological belief as the basis of organized religious life.

The passing of Mme. Curie, the immortal discoverer (with her husband, Pierre) of radium, marks an irreparable spiritual as well as scientific loss to the world. We are not competent to estimate her scholarly attainments, save as we know that the discovery of a new element, as of a new star, or a new law, ranks among the great deeds of history. But we stand in reverence before the simplicity, discipline, and virtue of a life which matched the high calling of its profession. Fame, summoned to her threshold by the amazing radium revelation, stood at his post for years unbidden to enter. Mme. Curie was too busy with her research labors to receive wreaths, and medals, and honors. Wealth was hers, if she had been willing to give a tithe of her time to exploiting her magic substance. But she remained to the end serenely content with her small salary as a professor in the University of Paris. Ease, comfort, luxury, all stood within her grasp. But she spurned everything but a quiet room and a hidden laboratory as her abode. Her life remained always in spirit what it had been in her early years when she came to Paris and lived contentedly in a garret while she pursued her doctorate degree. The scene of triumph, when the marvelous new element was found, symbolized fittingly the heroism of her entire career—an abandoned warehouse crudely adapted to the uses of a laboratory, with asphalt floors, and glass roof broken and patched, in which she and her husband toiled night as well as day. "The equipment," records Dr. Paul Appell, "consisted of some old and worn deal tables . . . and a great cauldron (in which) she stirred with a heavy iron rod the molten mass of the radioactive products . . . reaching home at evening exhausted by fatigue but delighted to see that her labors had led to a luminous product of concentration"—the sought-for talisman! "A scientific Bethlehem" Henry Labouchere called this birth-place of radium. The history of science has no nobler tale, and in Mme. Curie one of its greatest saints. It is well to recall that this simple and devoted woman, destined to be remembered as one of the great women of all time, did her fruitful work in an age when the world blazed with conflagrations of ruin and shook with tremors of despair. All is not lost, after all!

UNITY records with sincere sorrow the death last month of MAYNARD SHIPLEY, of California, known particularly to our readers as a frequent and valued contributor to these columns. Dr. Shipley was one of several friends who, during this past year or two, have died suddenly at just the moment when they were most generous and helpful in their service of the work of this journal of advanced liberal opinion. Born in 1872, he was throughout his life an active and independent leader in the field of science and philosophy. Thus, in 1893 he founded the Seattle Academy of Science, and led its work and deliberations for years. Later, in 1898, he founded the Science League of America as a national association to protect freedom in teaching in this country, and was president of this important society until his death. He wrote numerous books and articles on astronomy and evolution, and in his last days was preparing an exhaustive work on twentieth century materialism as a reply to what he called "the metaphysical physicists" of our time. Dr. Shipley was no atheist, least of all an iconoclast. But he was a thorough-going humanist, a scholar who found truth in the reason of man, and in man's ideals the fulfillment of the race's destiny. His spirit was fundamentally liberal, and thus alien to all vagaries of superstition and to every vestige of dogma. Trained in the best traditions of free thought and eager inquiry, he preserved his inner integrity of mind into an age all too careless of, even hostile to, the liberal point of view. In life he was gentle, kindly, hospitable, a good friend and loyal comrade. When such a voice is stilled amid the turmoils and terrors of this contemporary world, one feels suddenly lonely and a little afraid.

GOD?

Who will tell me something of God? I know nothing about him whatever. It is a mere name, a mere word to me, yet it clings. Why? Mere association brought down from my childhood and thousands of others? Clouds and dreams and reveries, hopes and wonderings and fears? Or is there something deep and mysterious there that really takes hold of my soul? I cannot tell. But still the word clings to me, sometimes in the form of an oath, sometimes in that of an invocation or appeal, but still clings, and it seems to me that it grows.

—Gamaliel Bradford: Journal.

Religion and the God-State

It has become clear that religious men and women must face the economic issue and the war issue. These are enough for American churchmen but unfortunately they are not all. There is another issue which in a sense combines them and poses the question to the upholders of ethical religion. By a curious turn of the wheel of time an old conflict is again arising. This is the conflict which the early Christians fought with Rome, the conflict in which the blood of the first martyrs was shed. Once more the idea of the God-State is emerging and men are being asked to yield not only their property and their lives but their very sense of justice and right to the nation. Once more the state is endeavoring to stamp out any loyalty that looks beyond itself. We see this phenomenon in Germany where the new Hitler government would make the church a servile handmaiden to the Nazi state. We see it too in the Soviet government of Russia which would outlaw religion altogether. We see it in Italy where Mussolini although an atheist at heart, would use the Catholic Church as a national unifying force and stamp out all religious dissent from it. We see it in Japan where like ancient Rome the Emperor becomes a symbol of the state and one hundred per cent loyalty to him is demanded. We see it very definitely in our own United States where the doctrine is arising that no one can be a citizen unless he is willing to fight in any war which Congress may declare, no matter what religious scruples he may have against it.

Just how far we have already gone along the path of deifying the state is shown by the religious ritual which all countries are building up about it. There is a national anthem, a hymn of praise, which must be sung with the greatest respect and fervor. And we must rise when it is sung or played. Then there is the flag which must be displayed in a prescribed way and in no other. Rules and regulations are laid down as to how it is to be washed and how destroyed when it has become worn and threadbare. Moreover the salute to it is definitely prescribed and made a part of the curriculum of our schools. There can be no disputing the fact that public opinion is to a large extent backing up all this. Nationalism is becoming in very truth "Man's Other Religion." And, we may add, that other religion is to millions more real and potent than any of the historic faiths.

I believe I can bring this home to you by asking you to think for a moment of what would happen if one were to take a Bible or a cross and tear or break it in pieces or trample upon it before an audience of average Americans. The audience would not like it but one would not be in bodily danger if he were guilty of such an act. But think for a moment of what would happen if one were to take the American flag and deliberately trample on it and rend it in twain. A man would be lucky if he escaped without being maimed and certainly he would be haled into the courts and sent to prison. Some may recall how Bouck White burned the flags of all the nations back in 1916 or thereabouts in token of international unity and the six months' sentence he drew for it. Now I am not for one moment advocating that either the Bible, the cross or the flag or any other religious or national symbol should be treated with anything but respect, but I am pointing out that the whole drift in our world today is toward the deification of the state much in the same way as the Roman Empire deified it. This re-emergence of the God-State is creating a tension in the religious life of man whether he be Christian or Jew, Moslem or Buddhist. It makes a burning issue for our religious leaders.

And why can't religion resign itself to this development? Why can't it accept the state as its God and fall down and worship it? Why can't it be content to play a subordinate role? The answer lies in the very nature of religion whether that religion be Christianity or Judaism or any other faith. Religion is the consciousness of having direct and personal relations with the universal power which controls the course of nature and human life. True religion always implies a cosmic reference. It is the assertion that there are absolute and eternal values, values which demand the utter devotion of man. Historically it has never tolerated, and as long as it remains itself can never tolerate, any usurpation of this supreme place in the heart of man. True religion demands always that man's first loyalty be to God and the eternal and absolute values which that term implies. The basic attitude of religion was well expressed by the Apostle Peter when he and others were haled before the Council. The account found in the Book of Acts is most expressive:

> Then Peter and the other apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than men.

Religion must oppose the deification of the state because this God-State, mighty and powerful and worthy as it may be considered, itself is after all but a part, a very little part of the whole reality for which man always longs. Allegiance to a geographical locality is a poor substitute for allegiance to the Almighty God of beauty, truth and justice.

Moreover it must never be forgotten that Judaism and Christianity and other ethical religions have continuously insisted upon reverence for personality. But the God-State does not hesitate to sacrifice human personality in the interest of itself. It assumes to tell its citizens what they must do and what they must think. For the individual it cares little or next to nothing. If it need his life in war it takes it ruthlessly and with no compunction. How different all this from true religion which makes personality and reverence for it its basic principle. Moreover, the very genius of true religion is its universality. It looks upon all men as

the children of one Father. It opposes the narrow nationalistic view of the state. It teaches that men are equal in the sight of God and it looks forward to the realization of a world, mark you a whole world, not just one land, based on brotherhood.

In thus bringing to your attention the cleavage which is growing in our modern world between the worship of the universal God and the worship of the God-State I am not oblivious of the fact that some will say that no civil state can exist unless it is to have full and complete authority. Thus these folk would say to me: What you are preaching is nothing but anarchy. I want to deny that charge most emphatically. The really religious man will obey the state except in the most extreme cases. He will not frivolously or merely to satisfy his own desires or appetites defy its laws or decrees. He will not lightly stand out against it. He will so stand out only when it is a matter of fundamental conscience, when he knows that he must obey God rather than man. Moreover it is to be noted as a matter of historical record that the Quakers and the Mennonites and other sects opposed to certain phases of the claim of the state have cooperated with it in all but the most exceptional cases. They have followed the rule of Christ to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. But in that realm of conscience they have believed God to be supreme rather than Caesar. Moreover I would point out that such outstanding churchmen as Dr. Fosdick, Bishop McConnell and dozens of others who would stand out resolutely against any war they thought unjust cannot be considered anarchistic in any rational use of that word. Indeed these men believe that in being true to their God they are in the highest sense being true to their country. Only this they will not do—they will not give to their country the worship that belongs only to God. In the words of the Westminster Confession of Faith:

> God alone is Lord of the conscience and has left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men.

By a strange turn of the historical process the mood and manner of ancient Rome is again upon us. Once more men seek to attain a full and complete national unity. Once more they are learning to hate the suggestion that there can be anything greater than the state. Once more we have a nationalism which would deny justice and the essential oneness of mankind. Once more we have a spirit which would compel the individual to do what he believes to be wrong. Once more the devil is saying to the worshippers of the cosmic God, "All this will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." But the religious man can never cease to seek for justice and brotherhood and peace no matter how much a God-State would strive to compel him otherwise. God grant that we religious folk may not have to make the choice but if we do may we have the courage and the stamina to say as did those youths described in the Book of Daniel when they were asked to violate their religion and their doctrines by worshipping the image of gold set up by the king as a test of loyalty. Listen again to their reply:

> O Nebuchadnezzar we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace and he will deliver us out of thine hand O king. But if not, be it known unto thee O king that we will not serve thy God nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

There speaks the voice of true religion, a voice that Rome could not still and a voice which will be heard when our modern Caesars are laid in the dust and even the God-State is but a memory.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

A Prayer

I thank Thee, Lord, that unclean swarms
Of killing ants, devouring worms
Or locusts, eating verdure bare,
Commit their ravage otherwhere.
In Thy inscrutability
Thou might'st have loosed their skaith on me.

I bless Thy Name that leprosy
Thou didst in lands afar decree;
That phthisis cases most abound
Where miners moil far underground.
Thou mightest turn such woes against
Me, spite of prayer: but Thou refrain'st.

Th' imprisoned child, the pittanced clerk,
Constrained to hopeless overwork:—
For these, in mercy Thou leav'st me
Clean of responsibility.
My soul, through Thee, how pure it is:
My income's from securities.

When at my knee my children pray
For other children far away
In Eastern lands, who know Thee not
Because in ignorance begot,
They're taught to give Thee thanks, and sing
Because they're born beneath Thy wing.

Still give to me my daily bread
With beams and rafters overhead
And radio and literature
That tends to make our state secure,
And, grieved at others agony,
I'll give Thee thanks that 'tis not I.

Amen.

CLARENCE JOHNSON.

Proposed Roads to a Better Social Order

No. 8. Anarchism

Of the many varieties of social reform or revolution, Anarchism is by all odds the simplest but at the same time least understood and most misrepresented; simple because it is based upon the principle of voluntary cooperation and experimentation with the right of secession inviolate at all times; least understood because man has been enslaved so long that he is, to use an illustration by Malatesta, the brilliant Italian Anarchist, like a man bound from infancy who finds himself unable to use his limbs when the bonds are removed; misrepresented by upholders of the present system and by liberal writers who for some reason find it easier to use the term "Anarchy" when they really mean "chaos." It should be clear to any intelligent person that chaos means an existing condition, whereas "anarchy," even in the sense that the slovenly writer uses it, is a deduction that unless social organization is based on certain codified laws the result would be chaos. For at least a quarter of a century Anarchists have defined Anarchism as the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made laws, a society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government. Anarchists believe that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

It is natural enough that beneficiaries of the present system of exploitation should use their power to misrepresent any one seeking to destroy their privileges; and it is equally rational to conceive that the slovenly liberal writer, steeped in the tradition of authority from infancy, will continue to be liberal and write in a slovenly manner. After all, as someone said about the devil, once he had tail and horns but time has worn them off. Perhaps time will wear off the fetish of authority.

Even a casual study of the above definition will indicate the possibility of different forms of social organization under Anarchism. Under capitalism, too, we find the same thing and it has been so from the dawn of history. At present there are two schools of Anarchism, the one known as "Individualist," based on the teachings of Warren, Proudhon and Tucker, the first and last being strangely enough Americans. They believe in private property and a medium of exchange issued through a mutual bank. Although Bakunin was the pioneer of the Anarchist Communist school, Kropotkin is generally accepted as the father of that school because he based it upon scientific principles.

As a geographer, mathematician and naturalist Kropotkin could never reconcile himself to the "tooth and claw" interpretation of Darwin by Huxley; and, after study and experience covering nearly half a century, he produced his epoch-making book, *Mutual Aid*. In this work Kropotkin gave a wealth of illustration to prove that the factor of mutual aid plays just as important a part in self-preservation as the struggles within the species and that without it man could never have survived in his struggle with the elements. His love of liberty and of nature led him to study agriculture, and the combination of poet and scientist in him brought forth another great work, *Fields, Factories and Workshops,* in which he showed how easy it is to provide what he called "well-being for all." Long before the Technocrats came with their facts and figures to show the absurdity of a price system in a society with the productive capacity of ours, Kropotkin asserted that while the population of Europe and America had doubled during the 19th Century its productive capacity had increased four-fold.

Anarchist Communism is therefore based upon the principle of freedom and mutual helpfulness. Instead of freedom leading to chaos it would lead inevitably to a higher and better form of social life.

The anomaly of government as a factor for good in society can be seen in that it is able to and does commit every crime in the calendar by the simple process of declaring that the State can do no wrong. It trains men to throw bombs and gives them medals if they perform their horrible task well. A Rickenbacker is a hero because he shot down a score or more German planes. The same government that decorates him coolly condemns a private person to the electric chair or to life imprisonment for killing not a score or more but one person. In private life one of the cardinal virtues is to pay one's debts, whereas every great nation in Europe cancels its debts and says, in effect, what are you going to do about it? If statesmen and diplomats acted in private life as they do officially they would be ostracised and scorned as men unworthy of trust, yet as officials they are decorated by their governments. Mussolini was expelled from the Socialist party of Italy because he violated its decision to remain neutral in the Great War, a decision which, if observed, thinking men of all countries now admit would have been far better for the world at large. Later he hired himself out as a strong-arm man to the ruling class of Italy and is now heralded as a genius by the class who formerly denounced him. He is the same man he was before. Now that he stands for existing inequality and special privilege he is a "genius" and "hero," but when he espoused the cause of the downtrodden he was a demagogue and a menace to society.

No serious thinker denies that the State rests upon force and violence and its defenders justify it by claiming that it is in the interest of all. Government exists for the benefit of the ruling group, and any other claim is contrary to the facts even if those facts are far too often confused by the temporary conflicting interests of the exploiters. The technique of members of the ruling class may vary but in essence all governments are the same. If it becomes necessary to suppress opposition groups, whether it is done by a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Horthy or a Stalin, force is used and the justification is always the same, namely, that it is in the interest of the people. To show that it is in the interest of the people the ruling group promptly assumes control of the schools and does its best to indoctrinate the children with the government philosophy, all the while depriving the people, in whose interests it is supposed to be working, of a voice in the management of their own lives. These saviors of society, while denouncing Machiavelli, practise his teachings and defend their action on the ground

that a State that was as honest as its own citizens could not exist. Every conceivable form of inequality exists under sanction of the law, and as every law is subject to human interpretation; violators of human rights in possession of sufficient wealth can easily confuse the issue or find an interpretation justifying their action. The burden of all law is to retain or extend the privileges of the ruling class and when so-called good laws are passed they are merely salvaging the existing system by throwing overboard certain parts of the cargo.

The anarchist interpretation of history is that governments have at all times existed for the protection and defense of the ruling class of a given period; that it is a contradiction in terms to assert that government exists to protect the weak against the strong when the strong are the rulers. No matter what form government takes its first thought and function is to perpetuate itself, and to this end it will commit every conceivable crime. Individual rulers may and do resign or abdicate but government never abdicates. It grows by what it feeds on and "a whiff of grapeshot" is as popular now as it was when first used to prevent the masses from challenging their exploiters. Burke, the English statesman, said long ago "in vain you tell me that I cry out against the evils of government, I tell you it is the thing itself that is evil." So with the Anarchist, in vain you tell him that he is protesting against a particular form of tyranny when in reality he is protesting against all forms of tyranny.

The world just now is said to be suffering from what is called a surplus of wealth but in reality it is suffering because the ruling class prevents that so-called surplus from being distributed to those who need it. Well-meaning but confused thinkers often call this Anarchy in production. For this writer Anarchy in production means freedom in production. It is true and should not be denied that we have Anarchy in production, for, under that system, and it is a system, the inventive genius of man has been allowed free play with the result that nature has been made to yield goods sufficient for all. In fact, we have a surplus of goods to which the people who need them have been denied access. If freedom in production has resulted in nine hundred million pairs of shoes a year the remedy is not governmental regulation of production but freedom in distribution of those shoes for other goods and services. Perhaps eight pairs of shoes a year is too much for a man, it is more than this writer needs or wants, but when the producers of shoes are able to meet freely with the producers of other commodities who are at the same time consumers of shoes they will adjust the so-called law of supply and demand to their needs and not to the rules and regulations of profit seekers. Allow men access to the things they produce and the contradiction of starvation in the midst of plenty will be solved; but that is just what the ruling class in every country does its best to prevent.

In the face of a rising tide of protest against the cruelty and stupidity of the present system, the ruling class of every country, including that of the United States, endeavors to justify it by insisting that if it were not for profits or the hope of profits we would return to an age of scarcity. Even if that were possible it might not be as bad as it sounds, for in time of danger, privation and common suffering, men often display their finer traits. Perhaps even predatory creatures like Rockefeller (who boasted that he taught his children to be "sharp" by cheating them), Mellon and Insull would display traits of solidarity for their fellows like ants, bees and other insects. Of course, this would not happen, for it is inconceivable that men would lose their creative instinct which has existed from the very dawn of history. Men create because of an inner urge and the idea that men sit down to invent something or discover something with the idea of profit in their minds is the most preposterous notion ever conceived by man. The scientists who risked their lives to discover the germ of yellow fever, the explorer who exposes himself to all kinds of hardships and risks his all in seeking to discover new continents; the poets and artists who starve in garrets are all obeying the instinct of curiosity and creation. They are not predatory, and the predatory animal is unable to understand them. The predatory man is in every essential a destroyer and the sooner society is rid of him the better off it will be.

Many well-meaning men and women are fond of saying that with all its faults capitalism has created an age of plenty, whereas the real facts are that our age of plenty has been created in spite of capitalism. It exists because of freedom in production. However, the breakdown takes place when the ruling class refuses to allow these goods to be distributed except on its own conditions. "We will keep the goods on our shelves unless we get a certain price," say the owners of the goods, and the government with the force of the army, the navy, the police, the courts and other agencies behind it supports them in this anti-social policy. More and more, however, men are questioning these privileges and are advocating that all share in the "social heritage of the technical arts," or as Kropotkin put it, there shall be "well-being for all." Sometimes this philosophy takes the form of justifying cancellation of the war debts by pointing out that you cannot expect generations yet unborn to pay for a war in which they had no part; and sometimes it takes the form of saying to a Tammany comptroller of the currency when he proposes issuing fifty-year bonds for building a subway, that you cannot expect a generation still unborn to pay for a subway which it had no part in building. This is the logical and inevitable result of private property created and defended by government.

Anarchism, like all other social philosophies, is a matter of growth and experience, but unlike most others it is not a cut and dried theory or even a "planned society." It recognizes the truth expressed by Ibsen many years ago, that the compact majority never accepts a truth until it is half a lie. Reforms advocated for the solution of problems of our time will be more than half obsolete before they are accepted even in theory by society. There is no hope in the ruling class of our day born, nurtured, and steeped in the belief that they have been ordained by God to live in luxury while the great mass of people live in misery. They are the ones who sabotage industry and now sabotage all attempts of the proponents of the New Deal to salvage the very system which supports their privi-

leges. They are the class that Huxley had in mind when he spoke of "red in tooth and claw." They are unable to act intelligently and are unwilling to give up any part of their privileges, no matter how small, to salvage the ship. Having spent their lives cutting each others' throats cooperation is impossible for them. Individually the capitalist may recognize that higher wages, shorter hours and higher standards of living for the great mass of the people would benefit him, for without purchasing power the masses are unable to buy the goods they have manufactured; but his credo of low wages and the necessity of long lines of unemployed workers outside the mill gates to maintain low wages has caused him to sabotage the very thing that his intellect tells him is the best thing for him and his class. Under these conditions a crash is inevitable and may come before even a small number of people have definite ideas of what to put in place of the present system.

Thinking men and women will try and create a form of social life that will insure well-being for all. Above and beyond that, some will point out that we have tried every conceivable form of authority and will suggest that freedom be tried for a change. Science has guaranteed abundance for all in return for a few hours of labor a day. One need not be either vain or foolish and think of himself as an altruist to recognize that one can find his greatest expression in living and working with others. Man must cease trying to create children in his own poor image and to regulate the lives of others on the plea that it is for their own good, when in reality it is merely the expression of his own ego.

In addition to the foregoing, there is a lesson in present-day events which thoughtful men and women would do well to take to heart. The ability of a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Horthy or a small group as in Russia, to seize and hold power lies not in the armed forces which each controls but in the attitude of mind of the people in those countries. Had men and women not been so prone to worship authority and were they more rebellious they would have resisted unto death the conditions inflicted upon them. Many excuses and good ones can be urged for their behavior but the fact remains that millions of men and women calling themselves socialists, communists, syndicalists and even anarchists are so influenced by habit and tradition that they accepted meekly the tortures and indignities inflicted upon them. Teaching the principles of freedom influences the teacher and helps to prepare the ground for a free society. It is not enough to urge a society wherein all men have equal opportunities or where they may participate equally in society's benefits. It is necessary to urge upon them that no society is worth fighting for which is not based upon freedom. Such a society, the goal of seers and prophets for ages, is the dream of the anarchist and constitutes the philosophy of anarchism.

HARRY KELLY.

The Space Between

When the Ladies' Aid of the Methodist church set the table for the past alumni banquet of the high school of our town it left one vacant place between the plates of the white members of the alumni and those of the Negro members. This small space is a symbol of the status of the race question in our town today. If the girl graduates of this year had set the table there would have been no space left, but if the Aid Society of a score of years ago had set it, it is doubtful if they would have placed any plates at all for the colored boys and girls.

Ours is a small town in one of the north-central states, set in a rich farming country. Once we boasted a thousand or more citizens, but the coming of the automobile and good roads, enabling us to go to larger towns to shop, and the fall of prices of farm products, have reduced this number some three or four hundred. Many of the old farms have been divided and sold and have been bought by foreign farmers. Among those of the old families left are perhaps a hundred Negroes, children or grandchildren or great-grandchildren of those who settled here either before or soon after the Civil War. The migration of Negroes from the South following the World War has not touched our town.

None of our colored people are so dark as the typical Southern Negro. Many of them show a generous mixture of white blood and some are more white than colored in appearance. As a rule our Negroes are sober and industrious, ambitious to give their children a better start in life than they have had. These children are ambitious for themselves and in our township and town high school they stand well in their studies, conduct and athletic sports. The boys appear especially well in baseball, basket-ball and in tennis, and when one of them makes a brilliant play which turns the victory to the home team the school girls, white as well as black, are not backward in showing their admiration for the conquering hero.

Besides being naturally graceful and good dancers, the young Negroes are musical and some of them play in the school orchestra and take part in the school dramatics. The white girls as a rule dance with the colored boys as readily as with the white ones, but the white boys do not dance with the Negro girls. One of the Negro boys sang the male lead in the school cantata a few years ago and would have been given the lead the following year had not the teacher thought it inadvisable to give him the part opposite the same white girl for two successive years. One of the Negro girls this year took honors in French and was sent to the state contest where she ranked fourth.

The result of this mingling of races in the school life has been in a few cases a friendship between a white girl and a Negro boy that has caused much caustic comment among the older people as well as among a few of the younger ones. If there has been such a friendship between a Negro girl and a white boy, I have not heard of it, though our Negro school girls are as up-to-date in appearance as their white sisters and some of them are quite pretty.

In the old days, though I remember one instance where a colored man married a white woman, gener-

ally when there was a race scandal it was about an illicit relation between a white man and a colored woman. Today the white girls openly admire the Negro boys and there has been no criticism of the morals or honor of the boys, the only scandal being the outcome of the inbred feeling of superiority of the whites.

The Negroes of our town now have their own church, of the Methodist denomination, and when the women serve a dinner to raise funds for its support the white Methodists lend them their basement dining room and kitchen and the people of both the white churches go and appreciate the good food served. Occasionally the ministers of the white churches preach for the Negroes, and when, not long ago, a young man of part-colored blood died, his funeral was held in the Presbyterian church, its pastor preaching the sermon. This young man, a general favorite, had no affiliation with any church and his funeral was arranged by his white employer and other friends. Their action was criticized by some members of the church.

One Sunday a few years ago the Negro church held a home-coming meeting in the village picnic grounds. It was shortly before an election and the principal speaker of the afternoon was a judge from the county seat, a candidate for re-election. He dwelt at length on the good qualities and the achievements of the Negroes and concluded his talk with the statement that science had proved the better characteristics of any people are only preserved by keeping the race pure, and he admonished the Negroes to keep theirs so. He was followed by the pastor of the Negro church, a woman of ready and eloquent speech and in appearance an example of the advantages of race purity. She thanked the judge for his remarks and said she heartily agreed with him on the importance of race purity, adding that the Negroes wished to live in friendship with their white brothers but did not seek amalgamation. The words of these speakers held a touch of grim humor for one who, looking out over the audience, found there no evidence of pure Negro blood with the exception of one member of the brass band brought from the county seat for the occasion. The rest of the "people of color" were of shades indicating more or less infusion of white blood.

A few days later a woman leader in the Negro church who had come to help me clean house, asked me if I believed what the judge and the woman preacher had said against the mixture of races. I could only answer that I did not know anything about the subject but doubted if the speakers knew any more about it than I did, and expressed the opinion that the world had never seen a pure race.

Whether because the younger generation of Negroes in our town feel themselves more nearly related to the whites than their elders were, or because they are developing a racial pride in their colored blood, they are more ambitious and more self-confident than the ones with whom I went to school here. This fact is a source of criticism to some of the white women of our town who are active in missionary societies for sending the Gospel to their benighted brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia and for befriending and uplifting them. These women frankly say they have no objection to the Negro so long as he "keeps his place," and when he does not do that there is justification for the Ku Klux Klan. But the young Negroes of our town seem to think their place is where they can reach, and with this view some of our young white folks seem to sympathise.

For some reason the Negroes here have always felt more welcome in the Methodist church than in the Presbyterian, and before they had a church of their own they used to seek salvation at the mourners' bench of the white Methodists. Indeed, during one revival, they somewhat embarrassed the pastor of this church by their readiness to come forward and he instructed his personal workers, when they went into the congregation after the sermon to urge sinners to repent, not to ask the dark-skinned ones, but of course not to refuse them if they insisted on coming.

Born and reared in our town was a young man of color, a person of exceptional attainments and pleasing personality, a general favorite with his classmates, both boys and girls. One of the girls showed such a preference for him that the scandal of the association of a white girl and a Negro boy began to brew. This scandal, in no way touching the morals of the pair, was averted when Norris went to the World War. He served overseas, became a lieutenant, the only boy from our neighborhood to obtain a commission. He came home, located in Chicago and there married a girl of his own race. But his life was short, for he had contracted tuberculosis in the army and he died, leaving half his pension to his young widow and the other half to his mother who had toiled over the washtub many a weary day to keep her gifted boy in school.

Also born and reared here was Myra, whose mother was a white woman married to a man of part Negro blood. Myra was too white to feel entirely at home among the Negroes and she was not received among the whites, except in the Methodist church, there being no Negro church in our town at that time. In Sunday school Myra had a teacher who took an interest in the lonely girl, and through the help of this teacher she went first to the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware and later to a mission training school in Cincinnati. In the latter place she met a young Englishman, the son of devout Methodists who had located in a South American city and acquired wealth. When Myra had finished her course at the mission training school she asked to be sent to South America and her request was granted. After she had served a few years as a missionary Myra and the young Englishman were married. They have returned to our town a few times, bringing with them on their last visit two handsome children.

Before her marriage Myra told her fiance that she had colored blood in her veins, and his parents when on a trip to a missionary convention in the United States, came to our town to look up her parentage, where their arrival in a big touring car driven by their chauffeur, created a sensation. They met Myra's relatives, expressed themselves as satisfied and gave their consent to the marriage.

On her last visit here Myra spoke on mission work in South America to an audience that crowded the Methodist church. More Negroes were present than had ever been seen before in one of our white churches, but the crowd was predominantly white. Myra gave an excellent talk and spoke incidentally of her visit to the relatives of her husband in England and of their trip to the continent. They had come to our town on their way home from that trip. One of Myra's brothers married a white woman and the other married a colored woman, and Myra, with her hus-

band and children, visited both families while here.

The space between has been narrowing even in our town since the days of the Great War when the Negro women pleaded in vain for nurses' training and the opportunity to go to the front and care for the wounded men of their race, but we still see even here strange expressions and strange deeds by those who are horrified at the caste system in India, though a returned missionary from that land declares she had seen nothing worse in India than the caste system in our own South. Meantime the devoted Negro woman goes on her way, saying nothing, but doing the best she can for herself and her children under handicaps that might discourage the stoutest heart, while her white sister seems to be slowly approaching, through much labor and heartburning, the freedom which the Negro seems to possess just naturally—economic independence so far as the right to earn her own living without reproach, though she be married, and the right to bear a child out of wedlock without loss of her social status among her fellow women.

MAY STRANATHAN.

Critical Optimism

In these stirring days great ideas are rising above the horizon. More and more clearly and generally is it understood that life is in the making and that the creative processes through which the world has reached its present state are still going on. Modern men are thinking in terms of growth and a new hope animates their hearts. We have before us the inspiring sight of the chief executive of a great people, aided by many of the finest and best-trained intelligences of our time, making a sustained attack against financial depression, useless commercial strife and chaotic conditions, and definitely aiming at a planned economy and a happier social order. Nothing like this has been seen aforetime. For the present, at least, the politician has retired into the background and the statesman has come to the front. Moreover, the unity of spirit and willingness of our people to cooperate in the campaign against the old chaotic ways is as gratifying as it is astonishing. This is surely not a time either for static thinking or for reckless experiments. What we see is a nation inspired by the poet Lowell's ideal, a nation which realizes that our task is to

> Understand our own age and the next,
> And make the present ready to fulfil
> Its prophecy, and with the future merge
> Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave.

Now if we are to move collectively toward this goal, our pathway must be lighted by great ideas, for without a sound social philosophy we are likely to lose our way. Philosophies of history are by some regarded as products of the play impulse, of the speculative intelligence, and therefore of the nature of harmless luxuries. It grows even more clear, however, that philosophies of history are plans of action, and conceptions of what is possible and of what is inevitable are important factors in the social situation. Optimism and pessimism are dynamic; they are social forces. Their representatives are not to be treated lightly as if they were mere theorists, for it is a great law of life that they tend to produce the good or evil which they foretell.

The materials and forces studied by physics, chemistry and astronomy are not influenced by our ideas about them. Physical processes are not affected by wishful thinking, but with human life the case is different. What is to be in the human world depends in part upon what we believe to be inevitable or even desirable. The differentia of humanity is found in our power of conceiving of a good or a better, and then of devising ingenious means for its realization. In this sense all creative activity is the result of wishful thinking. We cannot help striving for that which we desire, but our energies are paralyzed if we are persuaded that our ideals are unrealizable and that we are mistaken in our desires. From this it results that the course of history is more and more the expression of thought and aspiration, of individual and collective human effort to realize our greater and more permanent longings. Our philosophy of life is not a mere index, like the hands of a clock: it is a part of the mechanism.

Man, as Sir Ray Lankester says, is nature's insurgent son. It is characteristic of him not to accept meekly what he finds. Rather does he dare to give social direction to human evolution. He simply cannot believe that the great evils of history are inevitable and incurable. Although the power of the mind to conceive of a better future is greatly lessened by old habits, still more and more people are convinced that we can have whatever we want, and it is a matter of the first importance that in the case of human life we do not merely accept eternal truth but in large measure we decide what is to be true. If we despair, our very despair will tend to make history confirm our theories. If we hope, our prophetic anticipations will tend to realize what they hope for. From this it follows that both optimism and pessimism can appeal with a certain success to history. Emerson retells the old story that the Greek gods, disgusted with the ways of humanity, had about decided to destroy it. Athene, the goddess of Wisdom, arose in the council of the gods and said she hoped no such radical action would be taken, that men and women are curious creatures—if you call them good they seem so, if you call them evil, their actions support your view—and that there is not a single one of them but would puzzle not only all Olympus but even her owl to decide whether it was fundamentally good or bad.

Philosophers of history, the literary theorists of the present, are prone to take the messianic tone. In fact, they are prophets; for a prophet is an observer of human life who speaks in the name of the moral consciousness. He is convinced that his great ideas are true, and that, when he speaks, the voice of God speaks through him. His vast social importance arises from the fact of which we have been speaking, the fact, namely, that prophecies tend by their nature to bring about their own fulfilment. Many of these modern prophets are fatalists with a pessimistic forecast. Some with great learning and some with little put forth interesting theories which agree only in the view that the course of history is fated, that evil awaits us and that our best efforts to correct it must necessarily fail. Thus, two generations ago one of the ablest of American scientists, Dr. John W. Draper, argued with great force and perseverance that nations grow old and that nothing can stop their senile decay. In more recent

times Nordau has preached the gospel of degeneration, while later still Spengler has learnedly discoursed upon the decline of the West.

What should be our attitude toward prophecies of this kind? Certainly few would advocate suppression, but inasmuch as these modern prophets can prove nothing but at most are able to produce interesting and plausible statements, they should be very critically examined. We should never lose sight of the seriousness of the situation. We should remember that men will not fight against what they believe—even what they mistakenly believe—to be inevitable. Rather will they adjust themselves to what they are convinced will be and must be. This principle applies in the affairs of personal life. The lad who is convinced of his power to perform a certain task may very well do that task with ease, whereas, if he were filled with a sense of his inability, impotence would follow his despairing conviction. In the modern as in the ancient world there are gloomy Jeremiahs as well as optimistic second Isaiahs, and because they are honest, earnest, deeply religious and very plausible, they are among the most dangerous of men, for with the best intentions they may mislead their contemporaries.

The supreme example, perhaps, of how this principle works may be seen in the fortunes of the philosophy of Karl Marx. He has a philosophy of history which has become a gospel in Russia. He tells us that the kings and nobles of human society are first displaced by middle-class people, by business men, by what the Europeans call the bourgeois class. They, however, are destined to be everywhere overthrown by another revolution which will unseat these middle-class people and place the proletariat in power. That something like this will be the course of history everywhere is believed by millions of people with passionate intensity. Although it is but a philosophy of history, it has easily become a program and a gospel. And the revolutionary changes that have taken place in Russia are not changes that would have come about in any event, as I believe, but have been brought about by the conviction that modern society must inevitably pass through a series of stages eventuating in communism. This fact is explicitly recognized by the leaders of revolutionary forces in modern society. These clear-sighted thinkers bewail the fact that America is not ready for revolution and can be made ready only by social prophets. Thus, in a book entitled "Recovery Through Revolution," Mr. Herman Simpson states that the Communist revolution is yet only a distant prospect owing to the complete absence of the necessary intellectual preparation. He recognizes that a "thorough-going revolution must be preceded by an intellectual revolution, equally thorough-going, breaking with the ideas of the past and creating a new set of ideas in their place." Thus, the French Revolution was prepared for in the salons of the aristocrats. Likewise, the Russian Revolution was made possible only through the influence of Karl Marx's celebrated book, *Das Kapital.* In Czarist Russia this radical literature circulated everywhere underground just as today the ideas of Marxism are undermining the present social order. There are those who are digging at the foundations of our institutions and the radical leaders are saddened by the thought that this work of preparation is as yet so imperfectly done. One writer calls to the young Marxists and tells them that they have the glorious task and opportunity of bringing about the intellectual revolution of which America stands in such need and without which no social and political revolution is even thinkable. Communist leaders frankly admit that masses never make revolutions, that in all these great social changes the real motivating force is an idea with a small group of devoted exponents and that an oppressed and disgruntled mass is necessary only as an instrument. The modern social revolutionists are proceeding in long lines. Their aim is first to get American workers and farmers to think in class-conscious terms and discard all middle-class aspirations and to develop in them a temper similar to that of European working classes.

Hardly anything in the world is more dangerous than an erroneous philosophy of the course of history and of social evolution which prophets have persuaded their contemporaries to be the exact truth. For there is no reason to believe in social inevitability, i. e., in fatalism. If we think in one way, the course of social development may follow that way, whereas it may equally well take another course if that course is believed to be the highway of history.

A recognition of this important truth by radical writers is one of the hopeful signs of the present. Thus the editor of a socialistic paper writes as follows:

> How often have we heard that socialism is inevitable, that it will come whether we like it or not? If we work for it, it may come a little sooner; working against it perhaps a little later, but it will come as sure as the sun rises. Strong words these! Nothing could be more cock-sure in a world in which there is nothing sure but change and interchange. The human movement striving for a definite goal is treated as if it were a natural phenomenon such as the reappearance of a certain comet on a certain day. The theory of the inevitability of socialism is the theological dogma of predestination grafted upon economics. It also confounds social evolution with natural evolution. It is fatalism pure and simple—and like every form of fatalism it paralyzes action. Why waste energy on something that is as certain as Sunday morning after Saturday night? Why read, study, and think about forces that work while we sleep and consequently care nothing about what we do or think about them? Why attend meetings, distribute literature, secure subscriptions for the socialist press, when heaven and hell, money and government can't stop socialism?

The author continues sarcastically. He believes in the effectiveness of propaganda. He sees clearly that human evolution may be guided toward certain goals. A better life, a happier life, he believes to be possible, but it will not come to those who trust in the doctrine of *laissez-faire,* who sit down and wait for evolution to work out our social salvation. This has been lucidly and admirably put by the publicist, E. D. Martin. He shows that those who have faith in divine providence and those who believe in automatic progress have the same objects of faith. Progress is just the old faith in divine providence thinly disguised as a scientific theory. The modern belief in universal benevolent progress is pure faith in irreligious dress. And Herbert Spencer, Hegel, and Karl Marx are as messianic in their tone as any of the Hebrew prophets. Spencer's Utopia is pure old-fashioned religion disguised in nineteenth-century dress. To Mr. Martin we owe a felicitous simile. Nature, he says, is not a force for making civilization, nature is wild, but man, as the gardener, transforms the wilderness into a garden. Man destroys the weeds, fertilizes and irrigates the soil, introduces new plants and arrangements. Human culture is like a garden. The material elements of the garden are gifts of nature. Nature provides the sun and the

rain, the soil and the flora, but without the gardener the soil of earth remains a weed patch or a jungle.

On all sides, then, it is becoming clear that human civilization is a construction, that neither the good nor the bad is inevitable and that social ideals wait upon human intelligence and enterprise for their realization. Men of the prophetic type are dynamic factors in civilization. Their philosophies of history, their theories of the unfolding of civilization, are stimuli or hindrances to progress. When they come as prophets of gloom, preaching the inevitability of ultimate social failure, when their tone is that of hopelessness and despair, they tend to produce the conditions which they foretell, and this in virtue of a deep law of life, namely, that prophecies tend to bring about their own fulfilment.

The inference from all this is not that prophets should be suppressed but that they need to be critically regarded and their main conceptions subjected to the closest examination. On the other hand, the prophetic intelligence of a high order which escapes fallacies and mistakes and moves toward sound and wholesome ideals is one of the greatest of all human agencies for good. The Apostle Paul in the eighth chapter of Romans presents an inspiring philosophy of history. He had reached the great idea that there is a meaning in all the sufferings of the human and even the subhuman world. He believed that the outcome of the vast and perplexing process will be the production of a type of man approximating the personality of Christ, or, as he would probably state it today, a type of life guided by science and inspired by the spirit of Christ. Such a philosophy universally and passionately believed in, would tend to bring about the realization of this great ideal.

We are justified in turning away from the prophets of gloom and in adopting a critical optimism as a working philosophy of life, for the reason that although neither view can be theoretically demonstrated to be the absolute truth, the pessimism of the prophets who despair of the future of humanity tends to produce the evil which they regard as fundamental and inevitable. A critical optimism, on the other hand, comes loving and believing in humanity and its future. It begets and sustains the hope that our idealistic, value-inspired efforts can succeed. It inspires human life to a dream ever of the better, the more beautiful, and the more perfect, and it nerves us for the struggle as we climb toward the heights.

GEORGE R. DODSON.

The Speed King of Asia*

Many accusations have been levelled at Mr. Gandhi since the eyes of the world were first focussed on him. That of making a bid for speed records is perhaps a little startling. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that he has literally been speeding through south India: not because he is anxious to break records but because time is precious and he must awaken the imagination of India's millions as quickly as possible. Public opinion must be roused and this great curse of untouchability wiped out. Thus, like a hurricane he sweeps across the Tamil country.

Those who think of the great man of the East as a mystic and dreamer only, have no conception of the tremendous force and energy, of the perfectly astonishing vitality and stamina which he displays. Few of our most violent young enthusiasts for drastic reform and the immediate overthrow of existing social conditions could endure the terrific strain which leaves him tireless and unmoved.

He rises at 3 a. m. He could not otherwise find time to write a single letter. Prayers are at 4:20—then work, breakfast and by 6:30 or 7 a. m. he is on the road, travelling third class by train where that is possible, otherwise by car. There have been as many as ten functions at villages along the road, and two big public meetings a day. In addition to this, he must cover 100 miles and receive those who assemble to meet him at his host's house. Day after day for months on end—bed at 11 and rise at 3 a. m., working the whole of every day in the cause to which he has devoted his life—that of the Harijans—people of God. Others may call them Untouchables—Outcastes—born beyond the pale of Hindu society. Mahatma Gandhi renamed them and is seeking to break down the false barriers set up by tradition and to purify Hinduism of the accursed practice of treating a fellow man as the scum of the earth.

To be in India at all, living all the while with leading Indian people is in itself a privilege. To be welcomed on arrival by a telegram from Mahatma Gandhi inviting us to join him in his great anti-untouchability campaign throughout the villages of Madras presidency—a stronghold of Untouchability—is certainly the privilege of the few. My aunt, Muriel Lester of Kingsley Hall, London, with whom I am travelling, was Gandhi's guest in India in 1926, and his hostess in London for the whole of the three months he spent in England at the time of the Round Table Conference.†

After receiving Gandhi's telegram, we came straight down from Calcutta to join him at Combatore. There we were met by Mr. Rajagopalachari, who had been released from prison a few moments before, after serving a six months' term. A delightful man with a keen sense of humor and an honesty of purpose, he too is devoted to the Harijan cause. Gandhi is doing no political propaganda. Those who know him, whether they agree with him or not, are unanimous in their assertion that he is a man of absolute sincerity. Many have sought to do him harm. Some have wilfully misconstrued his words or put into his mouth statements which he categorically denies having made, but those who have come into direct contact with him and really know him, acclaim him a man of honor. His vow of truth would make it impossible for him to break his word. On the Harijan cause and that alone he is speaking during these months of hard work out on the hot, dusty roads. Since the earthquake he has also been appealing for funds for the relief of Bihar. The response has been generous. It is an inspiration to see the very poor untying the corner of their one-piece suit, taking out their last small treasured coins and sharing

*The author of this article is niece and traveling companion of Muriel Lester of Kingsley Hall, London, who is remaining in India to assist Gandhi for some months.

†For an account of how Gandhi got into close contact with the factory workers and textile operators in London and Lancashire as well as of his speeches at Oxford, Cambridge and Eton, and at public meetings, of how he stayed with Romain Rolland in Switzerland and visited Mussolini in Rome, see "Entertaining Gandhi" by Muriel Lester. Ivor Nicholson, 7 Watson St., London.

them with him for the good of their still poorer friends. Mr. Gandhi honors the widow's mite above the lavish gifts of the rich.

The anti-untouchability campaign is of importance not only to India but to the whole of mankind. His movement is a valuable contribution towards the building up of a new social order in which the rights of every human being are recognized, and the brotherhood of man is not only talked about but accepted. As far back as 1921 Mr. Gandhi condemned his countrymen who were decrying England's rule in these words:—"Has not a just Nemesis overtaken us for the crime of untouchability? We have suggested the pariah. We deny him the use of our public wells. We throw the leavings of our plates at him. His very shadow pollutes us. It is for us Hindus to repent of the wrong we have done, to repent of our behavior. We must not throw a few miserable schools at them: we must not adopt the air of superiority towards them. We must treat them as our blood brothers, as they are in fact."

Gandhi has not wavered in his ideas. He is pressing on slowly and surely and the curse is being wiped out. The nation is responding to his appeal, both with money and actions. Speaking at a large meeting he said, "At the present moment the poison of untouchability has so overtaken us that we mistrust one another. I hope that co-workers all over the country will consider it their privilege to consecrate their lives to self purification. You must not be content with flinging your copper and silver coins at me. They will be perfectly valueless if they are not a result of your determination to root out untouchability from your heart." At another meeting he said: "Untouchability is hindering the march of India as a whole, not only to her good but to the good of humanity. My desire is not only that the brotherhood of Hindus may be achieved, but that the brotherhood of man may be realized."

DOROTHY HOGG.

British Terrorism in India

To obtain a true picture of the present state of affairs in India is as important as it is difficult. Many English people content themselves with the remark that India does not interest them. If India were independent, they would perhaps be justified in this attitude, but so long as the British insist upon governing India, they have no right to ignore what is done in their name by the Government which they have elected. There has been no lack of interest in the misdeeds of the Nazis in Germany; they have been fully reported in the press, and have been commented on with self-righteous indignation. Few people in England (and in America) realize that misdeeds quite as serious are being perpetrated by the British in India. Large numbers of men and women, including many of the highest idealism, have been imprisoned under horrible conditions, often without any charge having been made against them and without any hope of being brought to trial.

The elementary liberties that make life tolerable have been taken away from the inhabitants of India, for the crime of desiring self-government. The censorship, combined with British apathy, has made it very difficult for the facts to become known. If they could be widely known, there is, I am convinced, enough decent feeling in England to compel the Government to mend its ways. . . .

Widespread oppression, even when it succeeds for the moment, is both immoral and impolitic. It cannot but produce a deep hatred, which may have to bide its time, but will burst out sooner or later. In the end, if nothing better than force is used in our relations with India, cruelty will be met by cruelty, atrocities by counter-atrocities; the fine idealism of the Indian National Congress movement will be swept away by men who will have learnt from us to believe that the only appeal is to force. In some moment of difficulties elsewhere, we shall find ourselves confronted by a movement we shall not be able to repress; and we shall lose India with ignominy. To any man with any humane feeling, or with any power of learning from history, such a prospect is painful. Who now attempts to justify the period of black-and-tan tyranny in Ireland? Who, fifty years hence, will have a good word to say for the present tyranny in India? No one. It is in our power to cause much misery, perhaps much moral deterioration; it is not in our power permanently to hold India by force. . . .

Prison is at times unpleasant, and would not serve its purpose were it otherwise, but there are some forms of unpleasantness which no tenable theory of punishment can justify. The system of promoting criminals to be prison officials, when by their sycophancy they have wormed their way into the favor of the authorities, is one which we should not tolerate at home and have no right to inflict upon India. The regulation that prisoners are to have a fresh towel once every nine months does not err on the side of cleanliness. The practice of herding Indian ladies of refinement with prostitutes in the last stages of venereal disease is a questionable one. All these are matters independent of the question whether a system of government can be considered good which puts almost all the best people in prison while offering good careers to cowards and informers. . . .

The economic situation of agriculture in India is part of the world-wide depression of agriculture. There is an economic similarity between the situation of Indian peasants and the American farmers. But the political differences are so great as to hide the economic similarity. In America, the farmers are able to bring about a change of administration, a re-organization of the banking system, a change in the currency, and, perhaps, a reform in the economic practice of the world. In India, the peasants are powerless against the landlords and the Government combined, so that no economic lesson is learned from their hardships, and they are expected to starve quietly without making a fuss. Only people with political power have a right to make a fuss: this is one of the great lessons of history, and, lest history should not sufficiently impress the Indians, we are teaching it by the lathi (big barboo stick) and the jail. Our ruling classes have lost their former skill, and I fear the ultimate result of their folly in India must be disaster.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

The Study Table

A Great Book

A new edition of John Strachey's remarkable volume* first published in January, 1933, and reprinted many times since in this country as well as in England, gives opportunity for re-emphasis of its significance and worth. It has been our judgment from the beginning, as it is our judgment now, that this book is the most brilliant, searching, devastating survey of our current capitalistic society that has appeared in this age of multitudinous books on economic and social problems—brilliant because so ably composed and eloquently written, searching because so rigorous in its diagnosis of the ills which beset our civilization, devastating because so unanswerable in its indictment of a system of life which is now in collapse and cannot be saved by any process of recovery and reform. The new edition of the book proves that it is holding its ascendancy in the literature of our time, and remains an indispensable work for any who would understand what is happening to us these days and would explore the way out.

In its main objective, Communism, Mr. Strachey's masterpiece is least convincing. This is perhaps because the author devotes only some sixty out of a total of some four hundred pages to the exposition of this radical gospel to which he has come, as to a promised land, after long wandering in the political wilderness. The main burden of this volume, and its overwhelming power, is found in the author's study of capitalism in the light of the Marxian analysis. Communism as the remedy comes as a kind of hurried climax, which must be further developed in later works. As Mr. Strachey has already produced a separate volume on Fascism, so in due course we may expect him to give us a thorough-going treatise on the Communistic system of society. Even so it is persuasive, and also comforting, to read here the statement of a man who sees in Communism a culture as well as an economy, a free way of life rather than a dictatorial rule of government, and can present this in its own right as in his view the destined civilization of the future.

Three aspects of this book are of outstanding importance. First is the presentation of capitalism as an inevitably dying order of society. Mr. Strachey sees the capitalistic system as a process of evolution which is moving, by the force of its own inherent life, to dissolution and ultimate disappearance. The development of capitalism, as its history in every western nation abundantly demonstrates, is straight toward monopoly at home, imperialism abroad, and the wars which must in the end destroy our world. For the essence of capitalism is the market—the market which must be struggled for, captured, and held by any capitalistic nation which hopes at all to survive. Attempts to reform this system, to achieve any real or permanent recovery after the depressions which are an ever recurring phenomenon of its life, are vain. The desperate resort to all kinds of quack money remedies only goes to prove the futility of this endeavor, for currency, as Mr. Strachey shows in one of the most brilliant chapters of his work, has nothing to do with the basic factors at work. Money is a symptom and not a cause of what is happening. What we have here is an economic organism which must fulfil the attributes of its own life, and these attributes are self-destructive. Nothing can be done but to get rid of capitalism before capitalism gets rid of us.

A second striking aspect of the book is to be found in Part II, wherein Mr. Strachey studies the decay of capitalist culture. This is a theme we have long wanted to see presented—the collapse of every higher interest of human existence under the influence of a social order which makes money and gain and materialistic acquisition the end and aim of life. The author's analysis of a dying religion and a betrayed science is less illuminating, perhaps, than his audacious study of the trends of contemporary literature, which he finds empty, barren, and not seldom foul with the fungus of decay. We could wish that he might have surveyed morals under capitalism, as he has thus surveyed literature, for we know of nothing more significant in this day and generation than the moral degeneracy of the times.

Thirdly, we would emphasize Mr. Strachey's presentation of Socialism, or Social Democracy as he prefers to call it in the European fashion. The drift of capitalism, as he convincingly points out, is all toward Fascism. As conditions of disorder are everywhere being met by forces of revolution, the capitalistic hierarchy is bound to resort to Fascism as the one way of maintaining its power. What has thus already happened in Italy and Germany is certain to happen elsewhere sooner or later. Against this trend has stood thus far only the trades union organizations and the Socialist political parties, and these have consistently collapsed in the hour of crisis. It is this fact which leads Mr. Strachey to his rigorous and ruthless description of Socialist reform, with the British Labor Party, under the leadership of J. Ramsay MacDonald, as his chief and particularly horrible example. It is in this section of his book that the author is at his best, for his intellect is stirred and fired by emotions quickened by his own disillusioning experiences. As sheer polemic, we have read nothing to compare with this for years. Complete mastery of facts, surpassingly brilliant argumentation, scorching satire, sweeping indictment, eloquent appeal and passion, all combine to make this section of the book one of the great chapters of contemporary literature. That Mr. Strachey is always fair, we do not believe; that he states the whole of the case, we cannot see. But we submit that this is the most terrible indictment of political Socialism that has ever been penned; and that, unless it is answered by deeds as well as words, there is no hope for the cause.

Mr. Strachey's remedy, as we have said, is Communism. The future of Great Britain, and of the world, lies in the completion of what has been begun in Russia. In his expression of this hope and faith, Mr. Strachey takes on the fervor of the prophet. As one reads his glowing words, one understands what is meant by the assertion that Communism today is a religion. Surely it means something when a man like John Strachey, well-born, well-reared, university-trained, brilliant author, cultivated gentleman, becomes the passionate apostle of this drastic demand for revolution.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"The Coming Struggle for Power," by John Strachey. Published by Covici, Friede, New York.

King Spider

That most revolutions inevitably carry into power on their crests flotsam and jetsam utterly alien to their ideals is as true as that they frequently finish in a manner quite inimical to those ideals—a text upon which rather a lengthy sermon might be preached, using, as *bete noir,* the eminent M. de Talleyrand, sometime bishop of Autun and prince de Benevento. Space forbids any such peroration; but perhaps a brief resumé of his career, and the ease and humor with which Mr. Cooper* has etched it, may stand substitute, as illustrating at once the permanence of the premise and the fatuity of attempting to draw any conclusions therefrom.

Brought up amidst the tarnished brilliance of the Old Regime (a background created by the artist with swift but stately strokes); incarcerated at an early age in the Church, due to a physical defect; Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, after-famed for the webs he wove about the French Revolution, found his true idyll on the eve of catastrophe in a cloistered Bohemianism tempered by diplomacy—from which Pan's garden the composer soon harries him into the maelstrom. Etching henceforth comes to life as brisk, highly-animated drama, against a background appropriate, with the pageant opening of the States General, sounding the knell for King Louis and the clarion for King Spider, who now begins his busy career; a complex, tangled web whose filaments, radiating from the hall of Versailles in 1789, cover, sometimes visibly, sometimes not, the entire fabric of France, and, indeed, of Europe, down to 1838. The divers intricacies adorning this lovely gossamer of treason—as whose motif monarchical peace predominates—are decorated with feebly-struggling forms, physical as well as ethical: the debased, dethroned, and then decapitated King; the devastated Church, shorn of her lands; Faith crucified in the Feast of Federation; even England at times in the toils; the martyred Duke d'Enghien; Napoleon, slowly but surely pinioned to a granite cross; the bewitched czar, Alexander; the angry Allies, balked of their vengeance on prostrate France; the restored, overshadowed Bourbons. All these, and many more, were amongst Talleyrand's victims: his work is summed up by M. Madelin as "treachery carried to the point of genius": but, of the many aspects of his varied existence, the personality of this monumental intriguer towers above them all.

His delicate raillery; his witty innuendos; his affectionate irony; his eighteenth-century airs—these, plus a certain unspeakable charm and a political sagacity unrivaled in modern annals, counterbalancing the blackness of his *beau esprit,* smoothed the way for this master spider, as he wove (or strove to weave) unceasingly, remorselessly, throughout a long life. These he wielded over women; in the States General; during his exile in England and America; as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Directory (wherein he laid the foundations of his vast fortune); under the Consulate and Empire beneath the iron fist of Napoleon (whose imperial panoply he had the honor of leveling with the dust); and, finally, under Louis XVIII, from the wreck of whose throne in 1830 he took refuge in the arms of Orleans, crowned Louis Philippe.

So equipped, he won the applause (not unmixed) of his entire epoch; and, as he makes his bow from Mr. Cooper's attractive pages, he wins the admiration, if not complete approval, of the present. For the prime mover has surrounded his subject, perfectly portrayed, with a fascinating entourage of the times: Wellington, Pitt, Grenville, Fox, Castlereagh, George III, William IV, Victoria, Hamilton, Burr, Gouverneur Morris, Carnot, Siéyes, Barras, Bonaparte, "the royal family," Fouché, d'Enghien, Murat and the repertoire of marshals, Alexander II, Balzac, Lamartine, Guizot. These provide the supporting cast; and, if we may recur to the image of the spider with which we began, they were also his flies. But a spider is influenced by, as well as influencing, the myriads that throng his web; and to this rule King Spider can scarcely be counted an exception. If they were his raw material and his food, they also determined his destiny. Always self-contained, and seemingly more or less self-sufficient, Talleyrand nevertheless took tone and color from each event and individual that he held (no matter how briefly) within his sensitive filaments: and the sum total is the substance of a career, always entertaining, often instructive, to which history furnishes no parallel, or furnishes a parallel in Richelieu alone.

ROBERT SCHALLER.

*"Talleyrand." By Duff Cooper. Harper and Brothers.

The Modern Jew

Three books just off the press have (either directly or by implication) used the above theme as motive for production. Read in sequence they move toward a suggestive conclusion, namely, a way out for a sorely beset and much harassed people. The first book of the sequence is the novel by William Collins called "The Shadow Before."[1] Here we have sharply etched the disorganized, anti-social life of a young rebel Jew—flotsam of wealth and of circumstance—symbol of the disintegrating forces within Judaism itself. Following this, one logically turns to "The Making of the Modern Jew,"[2] by Milton Steinberg. This is a serious and comprehensive study of Jewish culture, its decline, subsequent expansion and present dilemma. But one reviewer puts it, "At this point Dr. Steinberg leaves the problem with a question mark." And it is "at this point" that Edward James' latest book should be read. "Jesus for Jews,"[3] suggests a wholesome, natural, Judaistic escape—perhaps the most reasonable solution to the Jewish problem that can be offered. The writer pictures Jesus the Jew in a background of historical reality, as an extremely human human-being. One who makes mistakes, reverses decisions, contradicts himself, exhausts himself in anger—and yet, by reason of being a Jew, by reason of a Jew's unparalleled capacity for religious insight and religious fervor, does transcend human limitations as no other life has transcended them. He does incarnate a divine purpose.

These are by no means Edward James' words, but it seems to this reviewer that they carry a fair estimate of that which is embodied in his words. He writes with that buoyant, gay felicity that characterizes him as an author and one is inclined to think that he deliberately elaborates his technic of the light touch in order to free the book from the slightest hint of clericalism, cant or convention. When he drops into the vernacular one feels that he is not altogether at

[1]"The Shadow Before." William Collins. Published by McBride.
[2]"The Making of the Modern Jew." Milton Steinberg. Published by Bobbs-Merrill.
[3]"Jesus for Jews." Edward James. Published by Emerson Press, Concord, Mass.

home but is forcing his manner to meet a situation with which he is not quite familiar. Nevertheless, be his technic what it may, it has resulted in an astonishingly fresh presentation of the life of Jesus in its relation to the life of the Jews under Roman rule. Merely as a record of the personal researches and original thinking of the author the book commends itself and provokes thought. It deserves to be read by any unbeliever, whether Jew or Gentile.

FLORA WHITE.

The Menace of the Future

This impressive and frightening book* is not, as its author specifically declares in her preface, " a tirade against the chemical industry or aviation." It is a sober account of how these two great industries have already been used in the slaughter of human beings by each other, how much more terribly they will be used when madness next seizes the world, how impossible it is for the civilian population of any country actually to avert their consequences, and what can be done about it by the small proportion of humanity awake to the danger and eager to avoid it.

Mrs. Fradkin is no mere alarmist, and she knows what she is talking about. She was a delegate of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War at Geneva in 1932, and she is now state chairman of the New Jersey Joint Council on International Relations. She has done an enormous amount of research on her subject, her bibliography alone taking up seven pages of small type, and she has gone into it thoroughly. Historical in part, her book gives a complete account of chemical warfare from its earliest beginnings in Greek fire, and of aviation from the first attempts at flying. The alternative she presents is urgent and awful.

As James T. Shotwell remarks in his introduction, "the maintenance of peace depends, in the last analysis, on something more than machinery." Mrs. Fradkin puts her trust in a world state, economic council, or control body that seems far from effective organization in the present condition of world affairs. She says:

> Together, international control over commercial aviation, the abolition of aggressive types of weapons, international aerial police force, a universal world state, spiritual rebirth which is indicated in the phrase "moral disarmament" together all these deeply needed factors can cope with the air [and chemical] menace.

Amen! But how are they to be achieved? H. G. Wells recommended very much the same thing in a recent radio broadcast from London. Unfortunately, such conclusions are more well-intentioned than workable. Lately we have seen revelations of the machinations of the private munition makers which indicate what a battle would be fought to prevent any real disarmament. Nevertheless, it is only knowledge of the actual facts which can help us to see the way out, and for her facts, if not for her theories, Mrs. Fradkin's book is one to be consulted by every one seriously concerned with the imminent suicide of civilization. Perhaps continual exposure of and hammering on these facts will awaken the conscience of the world. This is more a wish than a hope, but it is at least a possibility, and such books as this will do much to make it, before it is too late, a probability.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

*"The Air Menace and the Answer." By Elvira K. Fradkin, A.B., M.A. The Macmillan Company, 331 pages, $3.

A Jewish Text Book

It is probably unfair to say that most textbooks dealing with Jewish history are deadly dull, yet the monotonous repetition of platitudinous eulogium upon our traditions almost impels such comment.

It is refreshing and stimulating therefore to contemplate a volume dealing with Jewish life, in a charming format, and with both artistic and literary qualities which are entirely original.

Such a volume is "The Tree of Life,"* described as sketches of Jewish life in drawing, prose and verse. The *Zeitgeist* makes this volume of even greater importance than its intrinsic merit would justly give it. The problem of making the Jewish life of yesterday, with all its poetry and charm, live for the sophisticated high school youth of today is an overwhelming one.

Divorced for the most part from actuality in regard to Jewish observances, our young people find the ordinary text-book description of ceremonial and tradition, such as may be found in the various confirmation manuals, as esoteric as a novel of James Joyce—and caviar to the general. This volume is so vivid, that no ordinary child, and for that matter no normal adult, can fail to find stimulation and joy in this new presentation of old-time Jewish life.

"The Tree of Life" presents a Jewish *weltanschauung* rather than a code. In an epoch of codes a revivified view of life is no mean achievement. The whole gamut of Jewish home life is covered, and while the book is comprehended from the orthodox viewpoint, it should be of no less interest to rabbi, teacher and parent giving allegiance to the somewhat arid reform which is the Judaism of today.

The artistic drawings are the work of Enrico Glicenstein, and they live and breathe a deep understanding of the charm of traditional Jewish ceremonial. From the Sabbath to the Kaddish our time-honored traditions are illumined and interpreted anew by Dr. Dushkin. There are thirty-eight original drawings, intermingling the modern note with the traditional concepts, and twenty-nine lyrics vieing with each other for laurels. The prose explanations are marked by a fresh viewpoint which is in itself remarkable if one remembers the conventionality of the material.

Where the general standard is so high, it is difficult to single out either drawing or lyric, but it should be said that the opening lyric upon the Sabbath strikes a keynote which is maintained throughout. No normal person can fail to be moved by its pathos and charm, nor fail to deplore the popular desecration of a day hallowed by Jewish fidelity through the ages from pulpit and rostrum. Many eloquent pleas have been made for the maintenance of the Sabbath but none more eloquent than this exquisite lyric. The lilt and modernity of the poem on Purim is another excellent illustration of how completely the lyricist has caught the spirit of the various festivals and ceremonials.

Austerity plus passion and pathos mark both drawing and poem on the Kaddish which fittingly brings to a close a delightful journey—veritably from birth to death —through all the meaningful and spiritual minutiae of the Jewish life as it was lived in the yesterday, and creates in the most assimilated modern a nostalgia for the Jewish touch amidst the materialism and hedonism of the age.

EMANUEL STERNHEIM.

*"The Tree of Life," by Enrico Glicenstein and Alexander M. Dushkin. Published by Board of Jewish Education, Chicago, Ill. $2.50.

Correspondence

Funds Needed for Important R. O. T. C. Case

Dear Editor:

Your readers will recall that almost a year ago the U. S. Supreme Court declined jurisdiction in the case of a conscientious objector to compulsory military training at the University of Maryland. Those of us who were disappointed in the outcome of that case because we believed it raised hitherto unadjudicated questions of Constitutional law are happy to report that a similar case is scheduled for oral argument before the Supreme Court during its coming October term.

The forthcoming case involves two student conscientious objectors who were suspended from the University of California because of their refusal to enroll in the R. O. T. C. Their defense is being briefed by an able Constitutional lawyer from Los Angeles. To finance this litigation a California committee under the chairmanship of Bishop James C. Baker is seeking to secure funds from supporters on the Coast. But additional funds—approximately two thousand dollars—are urgently needed to supplement the amounts thus far raised.

A Supreme Court decision in this case will go far toward defining the Constitutional rights of conscientious objectors to the peace-time conscription which prevails in twenty-eight of our civilian secondary schools and ninety-one of our colleges and universities. Basic civil and religious liberties are at stake. Those zealous to safeguard these—all old-fashioned Americans, those of orthodox religious views who believe the realm of conscience should be free from state domination, pacifists, liberals and radicals alike—are urged to share in financing the defense of these conscientious objectors. Donations may be sent directly to Rev. John Gabrielson, Box 54, Pacific Palisades, California, who is treasurer of the local committee.

Edwin Johnson, *Secretary*
Committee on Militarism in Education.
Roger Baldwin, *Director*
American Civil Liberties Union.

A Yardstick for Milk

Editor of Unity:

It has become well known that during the past few years dairy farmers have been obliged to sell their milk for a price that barely covered the feed bills. Yet the retail price has been so high that numerous families have been unable to buy as much milk as their children needed.

Investigations made by the AAA in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago have shown profits of milk distributors running as high as 38 per cent. And Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture is reported as saying that in all our larger cities there are milk distributing trusts that are robbing both the producer and consumer. I know that dairy farmers near Denver have been obliged to sell at 7 to 9 cents a gallon, while some no farther than 25 miles away were paid as low as 5 cents. The family consumers on the other hand have paid at the rate of 32 to 36 cents. You cannot make intelligent people believe that it costs three to four times as much to pasteurize and deliver milk as to produce it.

Yet we see a certain helplessness in the efforts so far to deal with the situation. There has been talk of getting the dairy farmers to organize for the purpose of establishing their own pasteurizing and distributing plants. But most dairy farmers in these days are eking out a bare existence and have no money to invest in cooperative plants, even if they could agree upon plans and details. Secretary Wallace and the AAA have so far accomplished little in the way of alleviating the situation.

Why is it so difficult a problem? Cannot any progressive municipality establish its own pasteurizing and distributing plant as a public utility? It could in this way insure the quality of milk and guarantee a fair price to both producer and consumer. Since milk may be regarded as one of the necessities of life, especially for children, there is a double reason why profiteering in this food should be abolished.

Only recently the Federal government has set a precedent by turning the Muscle Shoals power plant into a public utility in order to protect the people of one community from exorbitant rates for electric power. Another purpose was to demonstrate the real cost of electric power, and thus to furnish a "yardstick" by which rates could be regulated in other communities. To demonstrate that pure milk can be furnished at a cost within the reach of all families with children is surely no less important than fair rates for electric power.

There are many woman organizations in every city to whom the welfare of children should appeal strongly. What cause could be more worth while than to set this milk business right? You will meet with powerful secret opposition from those who are making fortunes out of milk. But the women of America can solve this problem if they will make up their minds to do it.

Francis S. Kinder.

Denver, Colorado.

Gandhi Today

Editor of Unity:

The recent attempt to kill Gandhi with a bomb is the second attack lately made upon him. Both were due to the anger of the more bigoted element among the orthodox Hindus at the rapid progress of the movement to do away with untouchability.

Gandhi has been making a speaking tour through India in behalf of the untouchables, with enormous audiences and much enthusiasm. At Deogarh, a crowd of orthodox Hindus rained blows upon his car with their lathis (bludgeons), almost bringing down the hood, which would probably have suffocated the inmates. Others lay down across the road so that the car could not go on without running over them. Gandhi's friends hauled them away; but Gandhi left the car, and walked more than a mile, alone and unarmed, to the place of meeting. He was surrounded by orthodox Hindus carrying bludgeons and black flags; but no one ventured to touch him.

A large group of his opponents entered the meeting to break it up. Gandhi bowed to them, smiling, and told them that such tactics were unworthy of orthodox Hindus. They began singing, to drown his voice; but, as he kept on speaking to them, they quieted down and listened. Miss Muriel Lester says in a press interview: "It was a real victory for non-violence."

Gandhi is now continuing his tour on foot.

Alice Stone Blackwell.

Boston, Mass.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 202)

creation of the conception of philanthropia, the Greek word for love of your fellow-men or humanity, a word which is the origin of our word philanthropic, or humanitas, the Latin word for humanity, which meant both a human relation and a humane relation of man toward man. Christianity went a step further; it did not recognize the natural man as he was born into his race, be he Greek or Jew, but only the spiritual man reborn by Christ. The philosophy of the Roman empire which culminated in the teachings of Seneca and the Stoa, and the theology of Christianity both proclaimed the equality of man independent of his race or the status of his birth. Modern philosophy broadened even this view, the liberal thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tried to draw the political and social conclusions out of this equality, and the American and French revolutions wished to transform them into reality.

It was only in the nineteenth century that the theory of Aristotle on the inequality of the human races was revived. It was a Frenchman, the Count Gobineau, who published in the years 1853-5 the four volumes of his treatise on the inequality of human races in which he propounds a theory that it is the German race which alone is a creative race, and which alone has a peculiar gift for political wisdom and guidance. It is necessary to point out that Count Gobineau, himself a member of the French aristocracy, did not consider the actual Germans the true Germans, but a mixture of Germans, Slavs and Celts, which had lost, through this mixture, their creative faculties, whereas only the members of the French aristocracy were true Germans, as they had invaded, in the fifth century, the Roman-Celtic Gaul, and had established their rule there without mixing with the native population. We can point out here one of the most important elements of all theories of race inequality. These are always produced by the members of the race which believes itself superior, and these theories are therefore very flattering to the people on whose behalf they are set forth. They are meeting one of the elemental weaknesses of the human make-up.

Count Gobineau's theories were not accepted in France, but were in Germany, with, of course, a characteristic alteration. An Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, took them up, replacing the French aristocracy by the actual German people as the most creative race of the world. During the last months, this theory has received official recognition in Germany and has been made the basis of all the teachings in the new German State. But the importance of this theory reaches far beyond Germany. Similar beliefs are held in many lands. They mean the destruction of the theory of the equality of man, of the brotherhood of man, on which both Christianity and modern liberalism are based. In that way, race theories in the modern sense are a challenge to Christianity and to liberalism, and both will have to take up this challenge if they wish to survive as spiritual forces moulding the destinities of humanity. The political and social importance of the modern race theory is not less far-reaching than its intellectual implications, for this theory is bound to awaken the fiercest race conflicts in a historic situation where the race question assumes dimensions unknown up to now.

Race conflicts do not become acute until the race kept in the inferior position is animated by the tendency to change its status and to strive for equality with the race deemed superior. We witness today a world-wide movement of this kind. Fifty years ago the world accepted the supremacy of the white race without question. Today the spread of education and of modern technical equipment throughout the world, the bringing together of all human races by the new rapid means of communication and transportation, have destroyed forever this unquestioned order, and have introduced a new, dynamic element which makes itself felt not only in the revolt all over Asia, about which Mr. Fenner Brockway addressed you last week, but as well in similar movements for political and social emancipation outside of Europe which have reached their crises during the past few years in all Latin American republics, where even the long silent and suffering Indian race is awakening to a claim of its due position in its own ancient lands. Throughout Africa the Negro is stirring, a phenomenon which would have appeared entirely out of question a very few decades ago. There is a great forward movement on the part of all the non-white races which we called, only a few years ago, backward races, and who are today trying hard, and, sometimes, as Japan proves, very successfully, to adopt for themselves the cultural and social standards of the white race. They strive not only for political emancipation but for a social advancement of their masses to participate in the progress of humanity toward a better world.

I believe that all lovers of humanity will welcome this common effort of all human races toward a new world. It is, for the first time in world history, that such a common effort binds different and ever the most distant parts of the world together. The basis of world unity is being created. In such a moment a new emphasis upon race and race inequality in many countries must have especially disastrous effects. It will tend to aggravate all race conflicts and therefore act as chief obstacle to world peace. No conflicts are as devastating as racial conflicts, no hatred as degrading as racial hatred, because they appeal to the most primitive and most ferocious instincts of man and are apt to bring out the worst sides of his nature. We very often witness the fact that a normally good-natured and reasonable man acts most brutally as soon as race prejudice or race instincts are involved. Through centuries we have striven to arrive at the recognition of personality, not of birth or race, as a standard of the value of man. The race theory means a regression from a spiritual point of view to a biological point of view.

Liberalism believes that man can be changed and improved by education and by social influences, race theory believes that a man has to continue as he has been born. Therefore race theories in the present form are not only dangerous for world peace and humanity at large, but as theories of despair bid us to accept man and races as they are and to give up every idea of their improvement. The theory of racial inequality will therefore not only precipitate us into endless race conflicts, but make a combined human effort to create a new world futile!

HANS KOHN, in *World Unity Magazine.*